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# Town Meeting



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## The Roosevelt Years---In Retrospect

Moderator: JAMES F. MURRAY, JR.

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

OSCAR L. CHAPMAN      ERNEST K. LINDLEY



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### COMING

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—April 27, 1954—

**Have We Centered Too Much Power in the  
Executive Branch of the Government?**

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## The Roosevelt Years—In Retrospect

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The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of views presented.

### THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**W. AVERELL HARRIMAN**—Former Director of Mutual Security; former Ambassador to Russia and Great Britain; former Secretary of Commerce. W. Averell Harriman is a graduate of Yale University. Before entering government service, Mr. Harriman was prominent in business and finance. At the age of 24, he was vice president of the Union Pacific Railroad, and later a partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman, investment brokers.

With the advent of the depression and the expansion of governmental agencies under the New Deal, Harriman became active in public affairs. A close friend of Harry Hopkins, he first went to the administrative division of N.R.A. Since 1933, he has been a member of the business advertising council for the Department of Commerce, acting as chairman from 1937-39. In 1941 he served as chief of the materials branch, production division of the O.P.M.

As President Roosevelt's special representative to Great Britain, Mr. Harriman was a consultant to the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board and the London Combined Production and Resources Board. From 1945 to 1946 he was the United States Ambassador to Russia. Returning home, he took over the duties of the Secretary of Commerce.

**OSCAR L. CHAPMAN**—Former Secretary of the Interior. Oscar Littleton Chapman was born at Omega, Virginia in 1896. He was educated in the public schools of Virginia and at Randolph-Macon Academy, which he left in 1918 to join the United States Navy.

After the war, he entered the University of Denver and at the same time served as assistant chief probation officer of Juvenile Court of Denver. In 1927-28 he was a student at the University of New Mexico, and the following year entered Westminster Law School at Denver where he received an LL.B. degree. He was admitted to the Colorado Bar in the same year.

Mr. Chapman then became associated in the practice of law with the late Edward P. Costigan and he managed the successful campaign of his partner for the Senate in 1930 and that of Senator Alva B. Adams in

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# The Roosevelt Years—In Retrospect

## Announcer:

Tonight, Town Meeting comes from the Franklin D. Roosevelt High School at Hyde Park, N. Y., under auspices of the Adult Education Committee of the Hyde Park Central School District, which works with the Board of Education to plan and promote thirty different adult activities annually. Among these activities is the Community Forum, which is being climaxed this year with the broadcast of Town Meeting. The Community Forum idea attempts to bring to the people of the Hyde Park area discussions by experts on leading questions of the day. Other desirable adult activities are offered as people of the community show a need for, and an interest in them.

The activities range from learning to drive a car on the highway, or learning the rules of running a boat on the neighboring Hudson River, all the way to the earning of a state high school diploma. The Committee, with the Adult Education Director, thus shares the responsibilities of directing a grass-roots system of education for those whose formal school days have ended. Town Hall extends its best wishes for continued success to the Hyde Park Adult Education Committee.

Now, to preside over tonight's discussion, here is James F. Murray, Jr.

## Moderator Murray:

Our setting for this evening's Town Meeting of the Air is the beautiful auditorium of the Franklin D. Roosevelt High School in Hyde Park, N. Y. The late President dedicated the building in 1940, and it has since then become an important center of educational

and cultural activities for the Hyde Park area, giving emphasis to the oft-quoted phrase which President Roosevelt used on this very stage. You may remember the words: "Education is the first bulwark of democracy." I am sure that our radio audience will be pleased to know that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mr. John Roosevelt are among the honored guests this evening.

Nine years ago yesterday, Franklin Delano Roosevelt passed into history. From the moment of his parting there began the inexorable process of distilling the prodigious activities of his life into the essence of historical perspective—of seeking to separate fact from legend and of pondering what final verdict will emerge when the storm of contemporary emotion and conditioned opinion shall subside.

Nine years, of course, count for little on the judgment scales of history. Neither the defenders nor the detractors of Franklin D. Roosevelt could pretend that so short a period of time could measurably dispel the mists of partisanship which enshroud and often distort, not alone the crucial events of the Roosevelt years, but even more, the controversial man who presided over and indeed fashioned so many of these events.

It is not the intention of America's Town Meeting tonight to open still another debate on the character or motives, the policies or objectives, the success or failure of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Rather, it is our purpose on this anniversary to examine in retrospect the Roosevelt years in the company of three distinguished Americans who are intimately acquainted

with those years and with the man who made them what they were. It is likely that much remains to be told to future generations if they are properly to evaluate the role and the impact of Franklin Delano Roosevelt on national and world affairs.

Town Meeting, tonight, hopes that this discussion may add to the public knowledge and the appraisal of those Roosevelt years. Now, our first guest this evening on America's Town Meeting is Mr. Oscar L. Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Chapman.

**Mr. Chapman:**

Mr. Murray, the period of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was one of invigorating, creative leadership in our foreign and particularly our domestic affairs at a time when all of us—young and old, worker, farmer, businessman, and teacher—were struggling to emerge from the depths of a grave economic collapse. I remember well the period of Franklin Roosevelt's inauguration of 1933. I remember vividly the bread lines, the many millions of unemployed, the bankruptcies, the foreclosures on homes and farms, the closed banks, and the bewildered and panic-stricken people.

Confidence and hope spread over the nation with the soothing uplift of a spring breeze after Roosevelt's inaugural address. His magnetic and inspiring leadership brought men and women from all walks of life to assist him in bringing about the greatest strides for the welfare of all of our people. Mere enumeration of some of these actions, all of which are national and international, show how government of, by, and for the people can help itself. It is

like a fascinating kaleidoscope of our ability to achieve.

Franklin Roosevelt took the most daring steps, the most farsighted, both for the security of our country and the peace-time progress of our nation, when he gave the word to proceed full speed with the development of atomic energy, for which he took the sole responsibility. He bolstered the economy with the bank holiday, deposit insurance proposals, public works, homeowners' loans. Farmers were important, and in the course of Franklin Roosevelt's service, there grew the agricultural adjustment program, the rural electrification administration, the development of new farms through reclamation and irrigation.

To provide new job opportunities, there were the great developments of public power, the TVA, the dams in the Northwest, like the Grand Coulee, the Bonneville, and all the multi-purpose enterprises which also helped with the navigation and flood control of our many streams. And for our workers, social security, which I think is one of the greatest contributions he made, old age assistance, unemployment insurance, the SEC for the investors, and other items to be touched on later.

Perhaps most significant of all, there was in FDR's day a feeling among all the people of working together and pulling together for the good of all. "We Do Our Part" was the memorable slogan of the famous NRA. The American people are always ready to do their part. That same loyalty and dedication in meeting the problems of the day lies within our people now. In Franklin Delano Roosevelt's memory, we must and

shall keep this spark alive with the American people.

**Mr. Murray:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chapman. Now our next guest at America's Town Meeting is Mr. W. Averell Harriman, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, former Secretary of Commerce, and former Director for Mutual Security. Mr. Harriman.

**Mr. Harriman:**

Twenty-one years ago Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his first inaugural address as President of the United States, spoke these words: "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor." Now, in the crowded years since then, those words, and the man who spoke them, remain an imperishable memory in the minds and hearts of millions, hundreds of millions of people everywhere. An historic achievement of Franklin Roosevelt was to kindle in the imagination of people the hope of a free and peaceful world, in which good neighborliness would be the watchword of every nation.

He spoke over the heads of governments directly to the hearts of people. I was in Moscow the day the news came of his death. There was deep mourning among the Russian people. They felt a personal loss, the loss of a friend, one who would lead mankind to a better world. Now our country, in spite of the disappointments, is still the embodiment of that hope among people everywhere, and it is in no small measure because they trusted Roosevelt as the spokesman of American ideals.

How many phrases of his recall these ideals — the good neighbor, the four freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations.

The measure of world regard for him was expressed by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons at the time of his death. He said: "It is a bitter loss to humanity that those heart-beats are stilled forever . . . What an enviable death was his! He had brought his country through the worst of its perils and the heaviest of its toils . . . In the days of peace he had broadened and stabilized the foundations of American life and union. In war, he had raised the strength, might and glory of the great Republic to a height never attained by any nation in history . . .

"But all this was no more than worldly power and grandeur, had it not been that the causes of human freedom and social justice, to which so much of his life had been given, added a luster . . . which will long be discernible among men . . . For us, it remains only to say that in Franklin Roosevelt there died the greatest champion of freedom who has ever brought help and comfort from the New World to the Old."

**Mr. Murray:** Thank you, Mr. W. Averell Harriman. Now, our final guest this evening is Mr. Ernest K. Lindley, Washington editor of *Newsweek* magazine. Mr. Lindley.

**Mr. Lindley:**

This occasion brings back a flood of memories, going back, in my case, for more than twenty-five years to my days as a New York political reporter. I think I first heard Mrs. Roosevelt make a speech about 1926 or 1927. It is always a pleasure and an honor to be in her presence, as we are tonight. I think I first met Franklin D. Roosevelt just after he was nominated for governor of New

York the first time, and I've been here at Hyde Park on many occasions during his years as Governor and as President. In reminiscing, in thinking back, one might reminisce about Roosevelt, the man.

He certainly was one of the most extraordinary and fascinating men of our time. One might reminisce about some of the great actions which he took, about the massive problems it fell to him to grapple with, the greatest depression in history and the greatest war in history. Let us hope it will still be called the greatest war in history a hundred years from now. But it's impossible to think of Roosevelt only in terms of the past.

I'm reminded every day, as a Washington correspondent, that much that he did endures and indeed has long since ceased to be controversial. For example, the social security legislation, which Mr. Chapman mentioned. We had nothing of the sort, nationally, before Roosevelt, and had it only on a very small scale in two or three states. I remember, when, as governor of New York, he set out to abolish the poor house. He came very close to accomplishing that in the nation. That social security program is now, in principle, beyond dispute and we have seen a Republican President ask that it be enlarged and extended.

The same might be said of the five-day week, minimum wages, public housing, and many of the other things that Mr. Chapman mentioned. They have ceased to be controversial, and that is a very important thing. Another example would be Roosevelt's belief that the power of government should be used, could be used, to overcome depressions and to prevent them. He challenged the fatalistic

idea that depressions were something that had to be endured, periodically, and that the government could do nothing more than perhaps lend a little money to keep everybody from going bankrupt.

That was really a revolutionary doctrine in this country twenty-one years ago, as I well remember as a political reporter. It was not accepted by the Democratic Party in entirety by any means. But it has come to be accepted in principle today. We have seen it set forth by a Republican President as part of orthodox, conservative thought, and, indeed, he has said that if the occasion arose, he would do many of the same things that were done by Franklin Roosevelt in the great depression. So one might say of the great conservation measures. Some of those are still matters of controversy, but others are not.

The Reciprocal Trade, with which the name of Cordell Hull will always be associated, *that* is backed by a Republican President today, even though it has not ceased to be a controversial question. The Securities and Exchange legislation. I well remember as a reporter the assertions made, in large numbers and very vehemently, that that was socialistic. It has ceased to be a matter of debate at all in principle.

The Atomic Age, as Mr. Chapman said, Roosevelt ushered in the Atomic Age by gambling three billion dollars on what many people regarded as a long shot. The formation of the United Nations, which began during the war under his leadership and that of Cordell Hull. One could extend the list, but I think I have said enough to underwrite the point that we cannot think of Roosevelt

only in terms of reminiscence and history. We must think of him in terms of the achievements which also are now part of our way of life.

**Mr. Murray:** Thank you very much, Mr. Ernest K. Lindley. Now gentlemen, in order that our discussion this evening may take some concrete form in accordance with the desires, as our listeners have written them to us during the week, I would suggest that perhaps first we might discuss, as Mr. Lindley outlined, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the man. And I would like to inquire, gentlemen, and any one of you may volunteer a response on this, certainly historians seem agreed that President Roosevelt was a most controversial figure. All three of you knew him well. What would you suggest might be the most significant facet of his personality? Mr. Chapman? Mr. Chapman was trying to put that answer over on the other two, and I think perhaps Mr. Chapman himself would be able to answer it.

**Mr. Chapman:** Well, if you knew President Roosevelt, as we three gentlemen did know him, it's very difficult to pick out any one particular personality feature and say that was the most prolific or most powerful within his life. But he had a gift that was most unusual, and I can describe it only in these words. He had a facility of making young people, as well as old people, feel that their contribution to the problems of the world was welcome and their suggestions were welcome. And he always gave the young people an opportunity to express themselves, and made them feel that he did welcome their suggestions and was willing to experiment with new ideas. And his personality in expressing himself to you, you al-

ways felt so warm and congenial with him. He made you feel that way.

**Mr. Murray:** Would you agree, gentlemen? Mr. Lindley.

**Mr. Lindley:** Well that was one facet, if I may come in, certainly. I think that there were many others. It's hard to pick only one in a man who had so many. I think his brilliancy was another factor. His supreme confidence, at least he seemed to have supreme confidence in himself, and certainly had it in the country. You will remember time after time he set targets that seemed out of reach, and we usually got there, in some cases, surpassed them. That was certainly true during the war. But he seemed to me to have supreme confidence that the American people could accomplish just about anything they wanted to accomplish.

**Mr. Murray:** I notice that our younger generation seems perplexed, those who don't remember the Roosevelt years except through their history books, as to whether or not the late president was motivated by any specific social philosophy or whether he rather improvised, in an undogmatic way, as the problems, domestic and international, arose. I wonder, gentlemen, if you would be able to contribute any enlightenment on that. Mr. Harriman.

**Mr. Harriman:** He certainly had a very definite social philosophy. It was a direction that he wanted our country to follow. He was not handicapped by rigid concepts of specific economic theory. That doesn't mean that he hadn't read his economics, but he looked upon economics as a way to attain social objectives. Therefore, I look upon

him as a man with a great sense of direction and yet readiness to experiment, unfearful to try new things, untied by the past and yet with the full knowledge of history, of the necessity of having experience in order to be bold in dealing with our problems in the future.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Chapman?

**Mr. Chapman:** Many people have asked whether he ignored precedents. I might say this, that I had a feeling that he had a great respect for a precedent, but he refused to let it become a millstone around progress. He refused to let it become something that retarded progress. Therefore I think the very daring in his own heart to try new things made a lot of people feel that he did ignore precedent so often, when in fact he really respected it and analyzed the precedent.

**Mr. Murray:** Well, Mr. Chapman, how could you reconcile that, for example, with some of the political activities of the late president? Specifically, there comes to my mind the attempt in 1937, which resulted in the Supreme Court battle and the so-called purges of the Democratic Party.

**Mr. Chapman:** Well, again, he respected precedent, and he certainly was a constitutional president. However, he felt that neither the precedent, or habits or tradition should stand in the way of progress. He felt that the Supreme Court needed some revamping, and I do not attribute the effort in that case to the question of packing a court. It was revamping the court. A second, regarding the unsuccessful effort to—you used the word "purge," I believe, so-called purge. That is not exactly correct terminology; however it was attributed in those terms to him. I

believe that was one of his political errors, and that is the only thing I would say it was—a political error, probably, and dealing in Democratic primaries throughout the country.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Lindley?

**Mr. Lindley:** I would agree with Mr. Chapman that the so-called purge was a political error, but I don't think it had enduring consequences. It happened in 1938. Munich came along about that time. It became evident that great danger of war was on the horizon, and Mr. Roosevelt did about a 90 degree turn and drew the Southern Democrats and many of the other conservatives back into his support on the question of foreign and military policy.

**Mr. Murray:** Before we approach the foreign policy, gentlemen, there has been considerable discussion among students and contemporary historians as to whether or not the intrusion of these foreign policy problems upon Mr. Roosevelt's thinking did not in some way overshadow the net result of his economic policy. Specifically, had that policy been a success or a failure up to the time of the outbreak of war or at least America's interest in European war? Mr. Harriman?

**Mr. Harriman:** You will recall, although there was still substantial unemployment at the time of the defense program, started in 1940, economy had been built back to where it was at 1929. There had been an increase in our population, our labor force, and an increase in our productivity, so that the reforms and the reconstruction program, the recovery program, hadn't had a full measure of opportunity, but it was moving rapidly in the right direction. Now

far as the war is concerned, it set aside the social progress, of which Mr. Chapman has spoken. We set aside the social program during the war in order to attain the military objectives.

**Mr. Murray:** Holding once more to the domestic side, before we get into some of these vital war-time problems, would you gentlemen care to evaluate, of course this is hindsight and retrodict, whether or not, in the third and fourth-term contest, President Roosevelt was indispensable at that point in our history, or whether he could have successfully stepped aside and allowed someone else to run. Mr. Lindley.

**Mr. Lindley:** I don't think anybody is indispensable, but apparently a majority of the American people thought in each case that he was the man best fitted to carry on, so they reelected him.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Chapman?

**Mr. Chapman:** Well, I think Mr. Lindley is correct that we don't think of any person as indispensable in our democracy. But I think the American people at that time and crisis seriously evaluated the problem in the terms of removing a leader who was thoroughly familiar with all the problems dealing with the preparation for war. And this is in 1940 that I am thinking of at the moment. And we would have been retarded to have any new person step in at a very crucial moment in our history as a leader. And certainly by 1944 that same thing was even more serious at that time.

**Mr. Harriman:** May I use the words that I did ten years ago. Said at that time, 1944, President Roosevelt is a symbol to them, the people of the world, of a strong

determination in war, of a wise and sympathetic nation for peace. Never in the history of the world has one man, Roosevelt, had the confidence of the peoples of so many nations and of their leaders. This confidence in us is for us in the United States an invaluable asset. This confidence we can ill afford to lose at this critical and formative time. That's the way I felt in 1944, and I still feel the same way.

**Mr. Murray:** Well, gentlemen, with respect to the war years which you have all projected a bit, in the early part of the program and in your statements, there is so much area to cover that perhaps we might just limit ourselves to a few of the outstanding problems and events. Let us begin, perhaps, with your opinion as to recent public statements by two former Navy officers concerning the possibility that the President's policy in 1941, in their opinion, may have courted the attack on Pearl Harbor. Mr. Chapman.

**Mr. Chapman:** Well, I just think that anyone who really believes that is certainly lacking in his knowledge of history and the facts surrounding the incident of Pearl Harbor, because no one, I don't believe anyone in Washington, in official life or otherwise, could have possibly had any feeling that Japan would do such a thing as openly attack the United States. No one could conceive of such a thing, and frankly I just don't believe that the Admiral who wrote that article either seriously believed it. Perhaps he was trying to sell an article.

**Mr. Lindley:** I agree with Mr. Chapman. I was fairly familiar, so far as a journalist can be, with the thinking of some people around Washington at that time, and I

recall it was known that the Japanese were moving to the south toward Indo-China, possibly Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and I think the President and many other people felt that if that happened we should step in, as a matter of protecting our own national security, rather than let that whole area fall under Japanese domination. Nobody thought that the Japanese would be stupid enough to attack us, and solve the President's political problem at home.

The prevailing feeling down there was that they would bypass us, hoping to leave Mr. Roosevelt and the American Government with the problem of how to fight unless they were directly attacked, in view of the state of American public opinion at that time. I remember about two weeks before Pearl Harbor, I wrote an article in *Newsweek*, saying that the odds were ten to one on war with Japan. I didn't find many people who believed it. I didn't quite believe it myself. But that was the measured judgment from one of the high officials in the administration.

**Mr. Murray:** Well, gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Harriman.

**Mr. Harriman:** I agree with what Mr. Lindley said. May I quote from Mr. Walter Millis, who writes for the *New York Herald Tribune*, in which these articles are appearing. I'll do it very briefly. He says, to begin with, there is nothing new in it; no new facts have been brought out. He goes on to say that the author has added the charge, totally unsupported, except in insinuations and deductions which can have no standing in any reasonable ken of historical criticism. And he goes on and expands that.

That seems to me is a correct statement, and it doesn't do our country any good to attempt to rewrite history. That's what the Russians do to suit their purposes. I think it confuses our people. To call everybody who may have made a mistake from a historical standpoint a traitor is an extraordinary new principle in our democracy.

**Mr. Murray:** Well, may we in the brief time that remains, before we have our questions from the audience and our listener questions, ask you, gentlemen, in turn whether you would care to indicate what in your opinion in foreign or domestic policy, or perhaps both, may have been President Roosevelt's greatest mistake. Beginning with Mr. Chapman.

**Mr. Chapman:** I'd rather point to one of his greatest contributions, instead of his mistakes, because I feel that his contribution in the field of social security has become so woven in the fabric of American life that it will be permanently with us. Second, where he assumed full responsibility for committing this government to over three billion dollars to build the atomic energy program solely on his own, it took a tremendous courage and faith in human beings at that time to do it. And I think those two things are outstanding in his career.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Chapman, you jumped the gun. I was going to ask you a moment later what you thought were his greatest contributions and would you still care to tell us what you may have thought to be the greatest—he is shaking his head "No." Mr. Harriman.

**Mr. Harriman:** Well, I'd rather talk about the tremendous accomplishments. History turns to

foreign affairs, which you asked to discuss. No one in sound mind will really attempt to judge recent history. We must wait for the future to determine the errors, many, that he made. There are certain things that were known which I was not in sympathy with at the time, such as unconditional surrender.

I recognize that President Roosevelt did not intend it to be interpreted as it was eventually interpreted. I thought, myself, we could have gotten better, further, with the Germans, if we had offered some hope. At the same time, President Roosevelt wanted to avoid the mistakes of Wilson, he saw them, when Wilson put forward the fourteen points, which created a great deal of difficulty in the post World War I world.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Lindley.

**Mr. Lindley:** I would think, looking back from this point, at the worst mistake that he made, that I can think of, was unconditional surrender. I think it made it harder to bring the war to end.

**Mr. Murray:** Thank you, Mr. Lindley.

Gentlemen, each week as you know, America's Town Meeting presents a twenty-volume set of the American People's Encyclopedia to the listener who submits the most provocative and timely question. Tonight's question comes from Mr. Norman A. Stoll, of Portland, Oregon. And he inquires, looking back at the economic and political turmoil of the times, what can be said for the

point of view that FDR was a champion of conservatism?" Mr. Chapman.

**Mr. Chapman:** I think when people begin to look at the past, as to what has taken place and review the economy of America, they will fully appreciate the fact that President Roosevelt was definitely a conservative. He tried to reform and protect the competitive free enterprise system, and through his efforts, I think he saved it.

**Mr. Murray:** Mr. Harriman.

**Mr. Harriman:** Well, you must remember that at that time, business people, even many of them conservative, were wondering whether the capitalistic system, so called, would last. Now, Mr. Roosevelt was a conservative. He undertook to conserve the free enterprise system, and if anyone wants to be completely dispassionate, it is quite clear that he has given greater opportunity to initiative in our country than we ever had before on a true American basis, true American tradition.

**Mr. Lindley:** I would add only the point I was trying to make at the opening, that so many of the things that Roosevelt did, that were regarded as liberal or radical at the time, are now accepted by conservatives as quite orthodox.

**Mr. Murray:** Thank you, gentlemen. Now we have reached the audience participation part of the American Town Meeting program. We will ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to tell us for whom your question is intended. I'll take the first question from the gentleman in the gray suit, in the foreground.

# QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

*Questioner:* My question is intended for Mr. Chapman. As Assistant Secretary of Interior, what do you consider was your most exciting, official act under President Roosevelt?

*Mr. Chapman:* Well, I think the assignment that I had in the Department of the Interior in dealing with human beings, the Virgin Islands, the Office of Education in the earlier days, and the national parks and the Indian Service. Those assignments were a part of my duties, and I wouldn't pick out any one particular act, but as my duties ran, those were the ones I appreciated the most.

*Mr. Murray:* Thank you, Mr. Chapman. The next question, please.

*Questioner:* My question is addressed to Mr. Harriman. Mr. Harriman, do you feel that Russia would be the power in world affairs that she is today had President Roosevelt withheld recognition in 1933?

*Mr. Harriman:* I don't think it had anything to do with Russia's power in the world today, whether recognized or not. Russia was developing into a great world power, and our recognition had nothing to do with it. This idea that is prevalent around this country, that we can just close our eyes to what's happening in the world, and therefore have it different from what it is and more in the image of what we would like to have it, is rather unrealistic.

*Questioner:* The only reason I asked that question, Mr. Harriman, I felt that Russia, up to the time of recognition by the United States was more or less a backward country, which was proved when

our American engineers went over there to more or less . . .

*Mr. Harriman:* American engineers went over before recognition while Russia was in the process development. You're quite right. Russia took quite a while to get over the disastrous effects of the revolution, but she was on the way up in her expansion at the time we recognized her. I'm not arguing whether it was wise or unwise to recognize her. Let the historians do that. But it didn't have anything material to do with her advance. And, incidentally, let's stop for a moment and think what would have happened if Russia had not had the great army which she had in 1941. The problem we would have faced in defeating the Nazis would have been perhaps almost impossible.

*Mr. Murray:* May I have the next question, please.

*Questioner:* I'd like to ask Mr. Lindley, in your opinion what difference would there be in world affairs today if FDR were at the helm of U.S. foreign policy?

*Mr. Lindley:* I don't know what it would be, today. I'm sure too much time has elapsed. I have always felt, and it is only a hunch, that if he had lived a little bit longer, particularly in view of the fact that he had negotiated the post-war understandings with Stalin, I would have reacted possibly a little more promptly to their rather gross violation by the Soviet Union. Perhaps that is wishful thinking on my part, because we did not react quickly. We let it slide along for a couple of years before we woke up to what was going on. And I think that was partly because the people who followed

had not been parties to those agreements and were not familiar with the whole thing. At least it is my impression.

As to our general policy today, I think putting aside any questions of nomenclature and so on, the substance of our policy today is very much what it probably would be if Franklin D. Roosevelt were in power. It has the support of a majority of the Democratic Party and a considerable part of the Republican Party.

*Mr. Murray:* I have a question from a lady this time.

*Questioner:* Mr. Chapman, what do you think Mr. Roosevelt would have done with the problem of farm surpluses, if he had to deal with them as they exist today?

*Mr. Chapman:* Well, one of the things, you remember back in earlier days we had some farm surpluses and he began the discussion of school lunches, for one thing. And I believe he would have found some way, or at least could have tried to find some way to dispose of the farm surplus problems, probably in one of two ways.

At one time, they were developing the idea of having a stamp plan for those needy people, so that they could purchase these farm commodities off the market, in a farm-stamp program. That would have saved you at least one subsidy on the particular commodity. And then the problem has been raised and discussed, and I believe it could have been carried through at one time, of trying to help feed some of the destitute areas of the world. That is not as, I'll admit, to try to work out.

*Mr. Murray:* Thank you, Mr. Chapman. Another young lady.

*Questioner:* I address my ques-

tion to Mr. Harriman. What is your opinion as to the present effects of the secret treaties consummated by former President Roosevelt?

*Mr. Harriman:* I'd like to know what they were. There were not any secret treaties. The only one that was not published promptly was the Yalta agreement about the Far East, and that was an agreement on the part of Russia to come into the war against Japan and could not have been published for military reasons at that time. Now I suppose you wanted to ask about the Yalta agreements. There are the most extraordinary number of misstatements about the wartime agreements. We have to remember that the first objective of President Roosevelt and Churchill was to keep the Russians in the war.

People forget that when we landed on Normandy our Chiefs of Staff were afraid that we couldn't do so if there were more than thirty mobile German divisions available to oppose us, and build-up would be relatively small. We forget that there were 200 German divisions on the Russian front and 50 satellite divisions. Now the other aspects of the wartime agreements related to an attempt by Roosevelt and Churchill to get commitments from Stalin as to the treatments of the areas which would be clearly overrun by the Red army. That relates to eastern Europe and to Manchuria. And those were the areas which these agreements covered, and they believed they had gotten from Stalin, they did get from Stalin, promises to have free elections. If Stalin had kept his promises, eastern Europe would be independent today.

As far as China is concerned,

Stalin agreed to support Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Government, and that agreement was put into writing as between Chiang's government and Stalin's the following summer. The Nationalist Government was very much satisfied with it. Again, Stalin did not keep his agreements. So let's have an end to this myth about Yalta. Let's know the facts before we begin to criticize it.

*Mr. Murray:* Thank you, Mr. Harriman. I believe we have time for one more question. The gentleman on my right.

*Questioner:* My question is to Mr. Lindley. Have the majority of the New Deal programs been beneficial in helping to strengthen the United States economically and politically?

*Mr. Lindley:* I don't know a majority, I'd have to count and I don't think you can put an equal weight on them, but a great many of them were. I think the main effect of them was helpful. Apparently that is the opinion of

both parties today, because many of them are no longer controversial.

*Mr. Murray:* Thank you very much, Mr. Lindley. I regret that our time has expired and we will not be able to take any additional questions. May I congratulate our questioners here tonight at the Roosevelt High School in Hyde Park for the inquiries which they directed toward our panelists and submit that it is regretful that our time is not longer to accommodate the additional questions which you see before me.

And may I thank you, gentlemen, for your most interesting discussions. Our thanks to the official of the Central School District No. 1 of Hyde Park: Mr. Al A. Macy, President of the Board of Education; Mr. Orville Todd, Director of the Adult School Program and Edwin A. Juckett, Supervising Principal. Thanks also to George Bingham and his staff at Station WKIP, ABC, in Poughkeepsie.



## TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. No opportunity for youth. Civilian Conservation Corps one of the first measures enacted. Provided healthful conditions, good food, and worth-while work for young men. Important start in reforestation and soil conservation (1933).
2. Public Works—jobs for the working-man, progress for cities and states.
3. Social Security, Old Age Assistance and Unemployment Compensation (1935).
4. SEC—to protect investors from abuses of the twenties (1935).
5. Banks were closing—The Bank Holiday—Reorganization and re-opening of banks (1933).
6. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation—stabilized banks and guaranteed savings (1933).
7. RFC began making loans to small business. It had been geared to big business (1933).
8. HOLC—to save the small property owner.
9. Indian Reorganization Act.
10. AAA—came to the rescue of the farmer.
11. Irrigation—Reclamation.
12. Rural Electrification—1935.
13. Soil Conservation Service.
14. National Security — Bonneville — Grand Coulee — Power — Atomic Energy
15. War Relocation Authority (1941).
16. Recreation—enhanced National Parks.
17. National Planning Board (National Resources Board).

### THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

(Continued from page 2)

1932. After the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 Senator Costigan brought Mr. Chapman to the attention of the President and he was appointed Assistant Secretary in 1933. At the time of his appointment, Mr. Chapman was the youngest member of the so-called Little Cabinet. He served in this position for nearly thirteen years.

In 1946 he was appointed Under Secretary of the Interior by President Truman, and he became Secretary three years later. He is now engaged in private law practice in Washington, D.C.

**ERNEST K. LINDLEY**—Editor-in-chief of the Washington Bureau of *Newsweek*. Mr. Lindley was born in Richmond, Indiana, in 1899, and was educated at Indiana University and the University of Idaho (B.A. degree in 1920). He later received a Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford.

While in college Mr. Lindley edited a small-town daily newspaper and, upon returning from England in 1924, he went to work as reporter on the Wichita (Kansas) *Beacon*. In December of that year he joined the staff of the New York *World* as a reporter. Mr. Lindley specialized as a political writer and in 1928 covered the Presidential campaign traveling with Al Smith and Herbert Hoover. In 1931 he joined the New York *Herald Tribune*, and traveled with the Republican Presidential candidate Alf Landon.

He became the chief of Washington Bureau of *Newsweek* magazine in 1937, a position which he still holds. Mr. Lindley, in addition to supervising the coverage of Washington for *Newsweek*, writes a weekly column, "Washington Tides," and also two columns a week for several newspapers.

Mr. Lindley has covered the national conventions of both parties as well as the Presidential campaigns since 1940. Frequently in demand as a radio and television commentator, he received the Overseas Press Club Award in 1950 for television news presentation and interpretation. Mr. Lindley has written a number of books on national and international affairs, and has contributed to leading magazines.

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